

They want to continue the Market Promotion Program. They want to take a \$5 million asset on a trust fund and give people a \$1.7 million tax break. It is a question of how we are doing it.

What we all understand is, we should not be doing it at the expense of students and at the expense of the colleges and universities that have entered into the Direct Loan Program so that you can put more money back into the pockets of the lending institutions. It just does not make sense.

The Senator from Idaho stands up and says, "We are going to take a lesser amount of money, but we are still going to be able to give you the same amount of education." I wish he had been there yesterday when the chancellor of the University of Massachusetts and the folks from Lowell, MA, and New Bedford and Fall River, which have 15 percent unemployment, working class people came in and said to me, "Senator, if these cuts go through, our kids are going to drop out of school." And they are going to drop out of school because they are going to have \$5,000 of additional costs in interest on the PLUS loan that is going to be \$700 to \$2,500 of debt because they eliminate the interest subsidy on the 6-month grace period. They are going to have a transfer tax on colleges and universities participating in the student loan program, and they are going to end, for half the universities, direct participation.

Mr. President, those kids cannot go to school paying that additional money. But they are giving the money to people earning more than \$300,000, and to all of these other interests. They are continuing additional defense spending. The question is how we will balance the budget. It should not be done on the backs of the future generation in education.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. DOLE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, has leader time been reserved?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Yes.

Mr. DOLE. I ask unanimous consent that I may use a portion of that leader time without it being charged against either side.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REPORTS OF WAR CRIMES

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, today's Washington Post reveals shocking news about what happened to the men of Srebrenica after this so-called safe area fell to Bosnian Serb forces in July. Twelve thousand men from this U.N.-designated safe area tried to flee to Bosnian Government-held territory and more than half were brutally butchered by forces under the command of Gen. Ratko Mladic.

Yesterday's Christian Science Monitor reported that Serb officers—from

Serbia—actively participated in the massacre of Moslems from Srebrenica.

No doubt about it, General Mladic and his forces are directly responsible for these war crimes. But, these reports beg the question: What was the role of the Yugoslav Army in this attack on Srebrenica and the subsequent massacre of Moslems. And more importantly, what was Slobodan Milosevic's role in these savage war crimes?

Reportedly Mladic is often in Belgrade—where he coordinates with senior Serb officers, including the Chief of Staff of the Yugoslav Army. The Yugoslav Army has continued to actively assist Bosnian Serb forces. And Bosnian Serb and Serb air defenses are integrated.

The bottom line is that the Congress—and the American people—need to hear what the administration knows about the relationship between Bosnian Serb forces and the Yugoslav Army, and the relationship between Mladic and Milosevic. Have we been told everything the administration knows about Milosevic's possible culpability in this hideous war crime?

Frankly, I am highly skeptical that the buck stops at General Mladic. In any event, these questions need to be answered by the administration now.

Next week, the proximity talks will begin in Dayton and Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic will attend. We need to know whether we are rolling out the red carpet for a war criminal. We need to know who the administration is dealing with—the butcher of the Balkans or the peacemaker of the Balkans?

Furthermore, the President should publicly commit his administration to ensuring that these war crimes will not be swept under the rug as part of the price of peace settlement. If Milosevic is responsible for war crimes, he should be held accountable—even if this complicates the peace negotiations.

Mr. President, if the administration fails to effectively address the matter of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia, the Congress will. The fiscal year 1996 foreign operations bill includes an amendment I offered on the Senate floor which would prohibit bilateral assistance to any country that provides sanctuary to individuals indicted the U.N. War Crimes Tribunal on Yugoslavia. It also instructs U.S. representatives in multilateral institutions to vote against aid to any country that provides sanctuary to indicted war criminals.

The United States is the leader of the free world—this requires not only political, but moral leadership. We cannot repeat the United Nations's grievous error of looking the other way when confronted with enormous crimes against humanity.

Mr. President, I reserve the remainder of my leader time.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have 30 seconds to thank the majority leader for his statement.

Mr. DOLE. I yield 30 seconds to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I thank the majority leader for his statement made on these war crimes, these atrocities. I do not believe that those who committed these crimes should be able to get away with it. I think it would be a terrible mistake for the world.

I appreciate the power of what the majority leader says. I very much appreciate his focus on the war crimes.

THE BALANCED BUDGET RECONCILIATION ACT OF 1995

The Senate continued with the consideration of the bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. KENNEDY. I yield 3 minutes to the Senator from Minnesota.

Mr. WELLSTONE. When I heard what my colleague from Idaho said, I could not be in more profound disagreement. The debate is not on a balanced budget, deficit reduction; it is on a Minnesota standard of fairness. This agenda here is not connected to the reality of the lives of people that we represent back in our States: "Senator, I am a student at Moorhead State, I work three minimum-wage jobs. The college years are not the best years of my life."

"Senator, I am a nontraditional student. I am older than you and I lost my job; I am going back to school, and I do not have much money. If you cut my financial aid, I will not be able to get back on my own two feet."

"Senator, I am a single mother, and I am going back to school, and I have two small children. If you cut my financial aid, I will not be able to move from welfare to workfare."

I hear it in community colleges; I hear it in public universities; I hear it in private schools. I asked my colleagues, I say to my colleague from Massachusetts, during markup, "Have you held town meetings in the campuses? Do you know what the consequences of what you are doing here in the Senate will be for students in this country?"

Mr. President, this is outrageous.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD the text of a petition from 515 students at Inver Hills Community College and Lakewood Community College.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PETITION FOR SAVING OUR STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM

Students are concerned about federal financial aid cuts Congress proposes to higher education. If these cuts are made, they will affect my ability to go to college and find a living wage job. Please help me continue to have an education that is affordable and accessible. The economic security of our nation depends upon a well-educated work force. America's future rests in your hands.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I simply say it loud and clear, and I will shout it from the mountaintop. I only